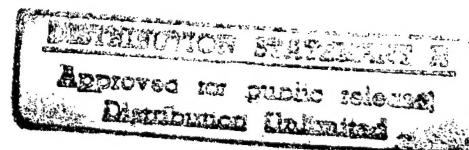




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Marxism-Leninism: Theory and Practice

Several Issues on Party Renovation and Reorganization in the Military

933E0007A Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 92 pp 3-6

[Article by Senior Lieutenant General Le Kha Phieu, secretary of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee and director of the Political General Department]

[Text] Thoroughly understanding and striving to effectively implement the resolution of the third Plenum of the CPV [Communist Party of Vietnam] Central Committee on a number of tasks in renovating and reorganizing the party is an issue of great importance in order to ensure that the military successfully carries out the political tasks in the new stage.

During the past several years in conditions in which there have been many complex changes, under the leadership of the party Central Committee, specifically under the regular and direct leadership of the Politburo and Secretariat, the party organizations in the military have led the entire military in gaining a thorough understanding of the new requirements in the tasks of the military, revising the strategy, reorganizing the forces, reducing the number of troops, fulfilling international obligations, withdrawing troops from Laos and Cambodia, building a people's war front and strengthening national defense, and concentrating efforts on developing the military politically in order to create a basis for building a revolutionary, regular, and more and more modern military. In particular, efforts have been concentrated on developing the military politically, ideologically, and organizationally, which is one of the key tasks. The standards and political capabilities of the party members and cadres, particularly the mid- and high-level cadres, have been raised, and their steadfastness in the face of challenges has been increased. In the face of the complex changes, our Armed Forces must maintain political and ideological stability, make positive contributions to stabilizing the political and social situation, continue to manifest their revolutionary nature and tradition as loyal forces of the party and trustworthy forces of the state and people, make an effort to overcome the difficulties and become self-sufficient, and be ready to accept and complete any task. The ranks of party members and cadres in the military must always be worthy of being the activist forces in leading, mobilizing, and educating the troops so that they will be able to carry out the tasks successfully.

The principle of "the party leads all aspects of the military absolutely and directly" was affirmed in the party statutes, and this has been solidified in actual practice. The system of party organizations and party committee echelons has been restored and constantly improved from the Central Military Party Committee to

the bases. The party's leadership mechanism has continued to be solidified and implemented uniformly throughout the military. This is an important renovation theme.

However, the cadres, party members, and party organizations in the Armed Forces cannot avoid the great effects of the international situation or the situation within the country. At the same time, the specific military situation has exposed certain limitations and weaknesses.

In the face of the rapidly changing and complex situation, the combat will power and revolutionary zeal of a small number of cadres and party members have declined. They do not feel at ease in serving the military and lack vigilance in the face of the plots and stratagems of the enemy. There are also a number of people who are vacillating and who have been influenced by deviate, incorrect, and degenerate viewpoints, and they have had a bad effect.

The ranks of party members and cadres have undergone many changes in line with the changes of the military organizations. The structure of the ranks of party members is not even or balanced. The nearest sources of managerial cadres have not been trained promptly. There is a shortage of primary-level cadres, and their ranks have been weak for a long time.

The weak point today is the party base organization. The point worth noting is that in many places, there is a lack of active and efficient leadership in clearly explaining and concretizing the party's resolutions. The principles are not adhered to, and capabilities for carrying on mass work are limited. Also, there have been manifestations of bureaucratic centralism, formalism, and bureaucratism in leadership formulas and work styles. Thus, some of the resolutions are superficial and of poor quality, and they have not been implemented fully or effectively. Things have been left undone and allowed to drift.

A number of party committee echelons are not really the political activists of the party organizations in the units, and in some places there is too much emphasis on structure. In a number of party committee echelons, people avoid things and exhibit right-wing deviations, and their spirit of criticism and self-criticism is weak.

There are many reasons for the above situation, but the main reason is that the party committee echelons, party organizations, cadres, and party members have not fully grasped or carried out their political responsibilities with respect to party building. Attention has not been given to conducting theoretical studies, reviewing practices, or formulating a long-term integrated plan on party building in order to satisfy the requirements and carry out the tasks of the Armed Forces in the new situation. Building up the cadre ranks has not been tied to building the party. There are still many urgent problems concerning the structure, size, and quality of the cadre ranks and cadre policies, and these are creating both immediate and long-term obstacles for party building. The

ranks of political cadres are weak, and they cannot satisfy the requirements of party or political work in the Armed Forces.

Renovating and reorganizing the party in the Armed Forces is aimed at improving the leadership capabilities and combat strength of the party in the face of the new situation, solidifying and strengthening absolute and direct leadership concerning every aspect of the party with respect to the military, ensuring that the party adheres to the military in every situation, building a system of party organizations that are strong in all respects, improving leadership capabilities and increasing combat strength, and improving the quality of and purifying the ranks of party members and cadres. It must be ensured that the Armed Forces are always the loyal forces of the party and people and that they can fulfill their tasks of protecting our independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, defending the party, defending our socialist system, maintaining political security in every situation, and smashing the plots of the enemy.

The key requirement is to concentrate efforts on building and improving the all-round quality of the ranks of party members and tying building the ranks of cadres to building the ranks of party members and party organizations. This is a new concept concerning party building in the Armed Forces, and it is the key element. The principle of democratic centralism must be implemented strictly. Leadership formulas and work methods must be renovated in order to ensure better and better results. The close relationship between the party and the masses, between the cadres and the soldiers, and between the military and the people must be strengthened, and the political foundation of the Armed Forces must be solidified. There must be a profound change in the political concepts and responsibilities of each party committee echelon, cadre, and party member with respect to party building.

To hit those targets and satisfy those requirements, building up the Armed Forces politically, ideologically, and organizationally is particularly important.

Politically and ideologically, the important thing is to raise political standards and capabilities using suitable forms. It must be ensured that each party member adheres to Marxism-Leninism, Ho Chi Minh thought, and renovation and is in total agreement with the viewpoints, lines, and programs of the party. They must solidify their confidence, manifest a spirit of independence and self-reliance, and have confidence in their ability to meet every challenge. Manifestations of loss of confidence, hesitation, conservatism, dogmatism, and confusion about the enemy must be overcome, and steps must be taken to guard against the effects of deviate and opportunistic political views.

Attention must be given to instilling revolutionary morals in the cadres and party members. Steps must be taken to oppose bureaucratic centralism, militarism,

corruption, individual management, and manifestations of undisciplined freedom and loss of solidarity.

In today's complex situation, the cadres and party members must clearly understand the enemy's antirevolutionary plots and the factors that can cause loss of political stability. They must be highly vigilant and be ready to deal successfully with any situation that might arise. Providing political and ideological education is not something simple that can be done in an inflexible manner. Instead, attention must be given to reason and reality and to flexible forms. Thus, attention must be given to studying theory and reviewing practices, to renovating the political education programs, contents, and methods at both the schools and on the job, and to improving quality and increasing combat strength and persuasiveness. The quality of information, press, publishing, cultural, and arts and letters activities must be improved, and these activities must be managed closely in order to satisfy the necessary requirements concerning the present spiritual lives of the troops. This is a very important element in blocking bad ideological and cultural influences. Another reason for doing this is to actively block and promptly struggle against deviate and erroneous viewpoints and poisonous information and to prevent evil publications from circulating among the troops. Thus, the ranks of those engaged in ideological and cultural work at all echelons must be improved so that these ranks can really serve as the assault forces in holding the ideological front of the party in the Armed Forces.

In the organizational sphere, positive steps must be taken to build the ranks of cadres and gradually instill them with new quality in close coordination with building the party's ranks of cadres in the Armed Forces. This is a strategic issue that will directly determine the quality of the party organizations and the quality of the Armed Forces. The administrative, educational, and review work of the organizations, particularly the primary-level and mass organizations in the units and residential areas, cannot be separated from the efforts of party members to improve themselves, train, and struggle. The party committee echelons must set times for reviewing and analyzing the quality of the party members and implement practical measures to exploit the active party members, train those who are weak, and purge the degenerate and degraded.

In expanding the party, the requirements concerning quality must be satisfied correctly, and attention must be focused on the leadership requirements and tasks of each type of party organization. As for party members who are about to be leave the military, they must be carefully prepared politically and ideologically so that they can manifest the positive nature of cadres and soldiers in their new work positions.

The basic and most important requirement of building up the ranks of cadres is to maintain and strengthen the party's leadership with respect to the military and serve as the activist in building the Armed Forces politically

and organizationally, which is the basis for improving the integrated quality and combat strength of the Armed Forces. The ranks of cadres must be strong in all respects. They must be balanced, synchronized, and equal to the tasks, and steps must be taken to ensure a stable transition. To do these things, we must exploit the wonderful experiences and continue to improve political viewpoints and responsibilities, cadre work regulations, and policies on cadres.

All of the party's cadres in the Armed Forces, including command cadres, political cadres, and technical specialist cadres, must be trained so that they have all-round standards concerning political quality, so that they have command capabilities and specialized knowledge, and so that they can carry on party work and political and ideological work. Political cadres must be capable of managing and commanding units, and command and administrative cadres must be able to carry on party work and political and ideological work in the units. Cadres at all echelons must have the qualities and capabilities necessary to participate in their echelon's party committee echelon. This is a new and lofty requirement. Our Armed Forces are striving to satisfy this requirement so that in the next several years, we will have such ranks of all-round cadres. An urgent problem is the lack of cadres at the primary level. The organizations, units, and schools must coordinate things closely and implement practical measures to solve this problem, particularly with respect to platoon leaders and company political cadres.

Along with concentrating efforts on building up the ranks of primary-level cadres, the units must formulate and implement leading cadre programs at the various echelons, with the key cadres being operations and strategic-level cadres. Also, it must be ensured that the transition among cadre generations proceeds well. Based on the programs, the cadres must be trained, assigned, and organized in a rational and timely manner.

In order to satisfy the requirement of building up the ranks of cadres, something that cannot be ignored is supplementing and revising the policies on the Armed Forces and military rear and promptly and carefully organizing things to implement these policies. All organizations are responsible for conducting studies and submitting proposals to the state on making basic and synchronized renovations and gradually systematizing the policies on cadres who are on active duty and who are about to be discharged in accord with the special labor characteristics of the military and in accord with the market mechanism conditions to ensure that the cadres are tied to the military and that their minds will be at ease when they leave the military. The same is true for other policies on the military and military rear.

In evaluating, assigning, using, and promoting cadres at the various echelons, the viewpoints of the party must be

adhered to. These things must be carried on based on a democratic process in order to ensure accuracy, and things must be decided by the party committee echelon collective. The organizations and people engaged in cadre work at the various echelons must be renovated, improved, and trained so that they have the good qualities and excellent capabilities needed to serve as the special staff for the party committee echelons. The work of reviewing the implementation of cadre activities at the various echelons must be strengthened.

An urgent task is to concentrate efforts on transforming the leadership capabilities and combat strength of the party bases, particularly at the combat units, operations organizations, strategic organizations, institutes and schools, and economic units of the Armed Forces. The higher-echelon organizations and party committees must help the party bases concretize the requirements and tasks, construction themes, and activity formulas. The key element today is to build party chapters and constantly improve the quality of party chapter activities in line with each form (organization, units, school, and so on) in order to have practical educational effects and overcome formal modes of activities.

There must be a good relationship between the party members and party organizations and the masses and between the military and the people. Concerning this, the responsibilities of the party echelons, cadres, and party members must be heightened, and their knowledge and experience concerning mobilizing the masses must be strengthened in accord with the specific situation and target. At each party chapter, party members must be assigned the task of carrying on mass activities. The activities of the mass organizations in the Armed Forces must be promoted. Mass agitation work must continue to be transformed using many lively and effective forms. This is both a pressing political task and a traditional function of the military.

In order to keep pace with the new changes in the situation, the leadership formulas of the party must be actively renovated, and the relationship between leadership and command must be handled well in order to manifest the all-round leadership role of the party committee echelons, solidify and increase the effectiveness of the commanders, ensure that the political organizations carry out their functions adequately, and manifest the role of the mass organizations in the Armed Forces, such as the youth, trade union, and women's organizations and servicemen's councils.

The tasks of the Armed Forces in this stage pose many new requirements and require that military party organizations constantly renovate and reorganize things. With the resolution of the Third Plenum of the CPV Central Committee pointing the way, the party organizations and entire military have confidence that new advances will be made in the coming years.

Our National Financial Policy to the Year 2000

933E0007B Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 92 pp 7-10

[Article by Finance Minister Ho Te]

[Text] Finance is an economic realm belonging to the sphere of distribution under the form of value. It is closely related to the birth, survival, and activities of the state. This develops in an organic relationship with a commodity economy and commodity-currency relationship.

As for the financial situation in our country, since 1986, even though there have been many complex changes, we have still succeeded in scoring a number of notable achievements. During the first years of the renovation movement (1980-1988), because of the mistakes made in adjusting the value of the currency, inflation skyrocketed from double digits to triple digits (587 percent in 1986, 416 percent in 1987, and 410.9 percent in 1988). Each year, the budget deficit has accounted for a very high percentage (17.3 percent in 1987, 25.1 percent in 1988, and 25.5 percent in 1989). From the end of 1991 to September 1992, the state used many integrated measures, such as tightly controlling the printing of money, improving control of currency circulation, gradually eliminating over-budget state subsidies and credits, and reorganizing foreign exchange management with state intervention in the gold and dollar markets. Thus, inflation has gradually been brought under control and prices have been stabilized, and this has contributed to strengthening the economy (7-8 percent a year).

During this period, many mechanisms have been fundamentally changed, and this has brought clear results. In agriculture, the "contract 10" system has motivated the peasant household economy to exploit its existing labor, arable land, and capital potential in order to produce much grain and many products for society. The state has transferred land use rights to the peasants. This is a fundamental renovation in the agricultural sphere. In industry, the commercial independence of the commercial production units has been recognized, and the material resources plans have been tied to the value plans, with value being primary. Enterprise directors have been given the power to select types of goods based on market demand. In the private economic sphere, the economic elements and commercial forms have been encouraged to expand in accord with the laws. On the financial front, new policies have gradually been formulated based on switching state finance to a multifaceted financial system including state finance, commercial finance, and the finances of social organizations and citizens. Steps have been taken to eliminate financial mechanisms based on the principle of "allocation and payment," and a new management mechanism has been established based on the principle of having the commercial production units being independent and taking responsibility for their activities.

The following important conclusions can be drawn from the experiences in renovating the economic and financial management mechanism in recent years:

1. Financial management cannot avoid the objective movements of economic laws in the process of changing mechanisms. In order to do this, there must be steps that are in accord with the synchronized system of financial policies and measures in order to renovate the economy at the macrocosmic and microcosmic levels.

2. Attention must be given to the role of financial and monetary tools, and these must be closely coordinated with the system of other economic tools such as plans and prices in controlling and managing the national economy. The targets, spheres, functions, and powers of finance, banking, and planning must be clearly distinguished in order to create a system of economic levers and control the economy based on a socialist orientation.

3. Finance and the financial management mechanism are not restricted to the distribution of the gross social product and national income but must also ensure the effective management, exploitation, mobilization, and use of the national assets and domestic and foreign sources of capital.

4. Financial management must contribute to serving production and creating the environment, conditions, and measures to attract, stimulate, and mobilize sources of capital within the economy using many forms and many direct and indirect mobilization channels. Things must be done through intermediary financial organizations, and a system of financial markets that operate based on state control under the law must be formed.

5. An effort must be made to expand and attract foreign sources of capital, particularly direct investment capital, in order to expand production. Sources must be created for national finances, and aid funds and loans must be managed and used effectively based on the specific location.

6. The financial apparatus must be renovated in accord with the new mechanism, finance cadres must be trained and retrained and equipped with knowledge, and financial management must be in accord with the changes in the mechanisms and organizational apparatus.

These conclusions form one of the important bases that will help us set targets and formulate measures for implementing the national financial policy to the year 2000 with the aim of solidifying and strengthening the potential of national finance, particularly the potential of the state budget and commercial finance. Specifically, we must strive:

To gradually reduce the budget deficit; contribute to stabilizing the buying power of the dong, stabilizing prices, and controlling inflation and, after 1996, basically solving the inflation problem; create the conditions and environment necessary for production to expand; stabilize the economic and social situation; and improve the people's standard of living.

To mobilize as much capital and as many assets as possible; exploit the labor potential, resources, and brain

power in the country; make an effort to obtain foreign capital to invest in expanding production and commodity circulation; improve results in using the capital based on the principle of eliminating state subsidies, practicing frugality, and eliminating waste and corruption; make important contributions to forming the new economic structure; quickly increase accumulation from within the national economy and gradually improve our balance of payments; stimulate scientific and technical progress; and solve the social problems and provide jobs.

To form and expand financial relationships in accord with the activities of the capital and currency markets and promote the flow of capital in order to supply capital effectively to the various spheres of the economy.

In order to hit the above targets, efforts must be concentrated on solving a number of major problems:

1. On the State Budget

The state budget is an important tool for regulating the economy. There must be rational policies to mobilize the financial sources, renovate the expenditure contents, and renovate the budget management mechanism. Specifically:

a. Financial sources must be mobilized for the state budget based on revenues from the commercial production activities of the economic elements and people. The state budget capital creation policy is to supplement and expand revenues, to concentrate on exploiting all sources of revenues based on the principle of a rational distribution of the national income between the state and society and between accumulation and concentration, and to ensure unity and openness. The primary source of revenues of the state budget is taxes. Formulating tax policy must be based on the principle of stimulating production, guiding investment, and guiding rational consumption. We must resolutely oppose tax shortfalls in every sphere using every means available and turn the duty of paying taxes to the state budget into one of the highest principles in the commercial production activities of organizations and individuals.

Besides taxes, revenues from various fees must be increased based on uniform stipulations concerning revenue spheres and levels. Arbitrary management in the sectors and echelons must be stopped. The point to note is that revenues from fees must be uniformly concentrated in the state budget so that the money can be allocated for use based on the measures stipulated. International cooperative labor relationships must be expanded in order to provide jobs for the laborers and generate sources of foreign currency for the state budget.

Expanding foreign economic relationships and developing a multifaceted economy will stimulate trade and the leasing of national resources and assets (such as leasing land, forests, ocean and river areas, lakes, and so on). The problem is to quickly solidify and perfect the price system for leasing resources and assets. Revenues from these activities must go to the state budget.

b. Borrowing money is a positive measure to cover state budget shortfalls.

The issuing of government bonds must be renovated in both form and substance in order to encourage organizations and individuals to buy the bonds. The money owed people must be paid in full and on time, and the other material rights recorded in the bonds must be ensured.

Money must be borrowed from the people by issuing bonds and treasury notes in order to mobilize money for the treasury and resolve some of the difficulties for the state budget.

As for borrowing money from abroad in order to cover budget shortfalls, things must be calculated and managed very carefully to ensure that effective use is made of the loan funds. Loan funds must be used only to invest in developing the economy. They must not be used to satisfy the consumer needs of the state budget.

Besides this, an effort must be made to obtain aid from foreign governments, international organizations, and individuals living abroad. Aid funds must be put into the state budget and used for stipulated goals.

c. Policies must be formulated for distributing and making good use of the state budget funds. Expenditures of a state-subsidies nature must be done away with, the motto of the "state and people working together" must be implemented, and the principle of frugality and effectiveness must be ensured. Concerning ordinary consumer policies and measures, the state will allot capital for targets aimed at reducing the population growth rate, reassigning laborers and creating jobs, supporting investment in primary general schools, and fulfilling the obligations to war invalids, the families of war heroes, and those who contributed to the revolution.

As for scientific research, attention must be given to making investments to ensure that the ranks of intellectuals have the capabilities and conditions necessary to make contributions to strengthening the economy of the country. Administrative management expenditures must be made based on the standards and appropriate norms. Money should not be invested in building headquarters buildings and other projects that are not really necessary to satisfy the management requirements. The apparatus must be improved, financial activities in the security and national defense spheres must be solidified, it must be ensured that money is spent for the right goals and targets, and frugality must be practiced. The concept of an all-people's national defense must be implemented by reducing the size of the standing Army while at the same time improving its quality. In the sphere of national investment, the state budget must arrange rational sources and constantly increase in order to maintain the macrocosmic regulatory role of the state and stabilize economic and social life. Each year, the state budget must reserve a suitable percentage of the expenditure funds (15-20 percent of total expenditures) to pay the debt. Taking new loans must be coordinated in a rational and effective way with paying off the old debts.

As for economic and social development investment policies and measures, the state will immediately put investment capital into the infrastructure and into a number of key commercial production spheres in order to maintain the normal growth of the economy. All investment expenditures from the state budget are based on the principle of return of capital. With the present rate of economic growth, it is predicted that during the period 1992-1995, approximately 20-25 percent of total state budget funds will be reserved for investment in economic development.

2. Financial Policy Regarding Business

Commercial finance is an important element of national finance. Its function is to mobilize, accumulate, and expand capital based on expanding the scale of commerce and constantly improving the results of capital use. Financial policy regarding business is aimed at providing stimulation, creating conditions, and setting guidelines for carrying on investment activities and expanding commercial production.

State commercial activities will be allotted initial investment capital, and a management mechanism will be implemented based on the principle of distinguishing the all-people ownership rights represented by the state from the asset use rights in each business in order to form a suitable commercial management system. The first thing is to deal with the state economic installations based on the guideline of transforming most of the enterprises into share corporations. Naturally, the percentage of shares held by the state will depend on the importance of each sphere. Ineffective commercial production installations can be privatized or disbanded.

As for businesses belonging to private economic elements, the state must perfect the regulations on capital and asset ownership, inheritance and transfer rights, the right to choose and change the direction of investment based on the policies and laws, on the right to use the fruits of business (after paying taxes), and on obligations to the state. In the coming stage, the form of share enterprises with joint (state-private) ownership must be expanded. Private enterprises, including those owned by foreigners residing in Vietnam, will be encouraged to invest in commercial spheres in line with expanding the economy of the state, and they will enjoy equality before the law.

As for income distribution, each enterprise is equal in commercial production, and each one is obligated to pay taxes to the state budget based on the law. As for the income remaining after paying expenses and taxes, the enterprises are free to distribute it and use it to satisfy their own needs. Enterprises will be encouraged to reinvest profits in production. The mechanism of compensating state enterprises for losses using state budget funds will be eliminated.

3. Currency and Credit Policies

In the new mechanism, commercial currency and credit activities must be uniformly controlled by laws and mechanisms. Guidelines must be set for the expansion of a multifaceted credit system (state-operated, share, and joint state-private), and foreign banks must be encouraged to open branches in Vietnam. Credit activities must be greatly expanded in the rural areas, and types of credit and forms used to attract and provide credit must be expanded and varied.

Strict rules must be established concerning capital, down payments, banking activities, and the control and audit system in order to promptly stop speculation and fraud. On the other hand, a market credit rate mechanism (positive rate) must be implemented, the role of the state bank in credit activities must be strengthened, mortgage and discount and rediscount rates must be adopted, and there must be participation in the currency markets. The point to note is that encouraging organizations and individuals to trade and transfer various types of notes, shares, and bonds will lead the formation and expansion of capital markets and bond trading offices in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City.

The currency structure must be made more varied in order to enable the currency markets to operate. Currency shortages in economic life must be avoided, and the relationship between currency supply and the growth of the economy, inflation, and prices must be examined. On the other hand, printing money as a source of credit must be stopped. The state must control foreign currency uniformly and use gold and foreign currency reserve funds to influence the markets and regulate supply and demand. The financial operations of the commercial banks must be audited by state finance organizations.

4. Foreign Financial Policies

We must resolutely adhere to the renovation policy and actively participate in the work of the international community and zone based on the principle of promoting fairness and mutual profit while maintaining national sovereignty. The policy of mobilizing capital from abroad will be implemented in every sphere. The point to note is that the import-export and economic open-door policies must be implemented fully and uniformly in order to stimulate the expansion of domestic production and improve our balance of payments. Using such tools as taxes, exchange rates, subsidies, and credits, the state will implement a policy of encouraging and enabling sectors, enterprises, and foreign investors to concentrate on production and processing and export goods activities.

In order to create the conditions and environment for the penetration of direct investment capital and ensure the legitimate interests of investors, the state must simplify the import-export, travel, and housing procedures for businessmen and merchants. The infrastructure must gradually be modernized, the positions and policies must be codified in law, and banking, financial insurance, and

accounting services must be expanded to support the activities of investors and give them confidence.

As for loans, enterprises and investors will be allowed to borrow money on the international credit market, and a system of guarantees will be implemented as stipulated by law. Organizations that take loans must have the ability and a plan to repay the loans on time. At the same time, they are legally responsible for the use of the loan funds and for repaying the loans.

As for aid given by foreign governments, international organizations, and individuals living abroad to our government and commercial organizations (including favorable loans and grants that do not have to be repaid), these funds must be managed in a uniform manner and used in an efficient and effective way so as gain the trust of those countries and international aid organizations.

The National Population Policy in the Country's Development Strategy

*933E0007C Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN
in Vietnamese No 11, Nov 92 pp 11-15*

[Article by Hong Vinh]

[Text] Previously, when talking about population or population policy, many people thought only about family planning. And when talking about family planning many people thought only about reducing the birth rate. This way of thinking is not wrong, but it does not go far enough. The population problem and the national population policies, which were mentioned in the proceedings of the seventh party congress, are much broader and richer in content. This does not refer just to the birth rate or family size but also to the distribution structure and the quality of life of each target.

With a thorough understanding of the strategic ideas for developing the country, the organizations that are drafting the national population policy are working urgently to put forth legal documents of the state, such as statutes, decrees, decisions, and population programs and targets in accord with the economic and social development plan to the year 2000 and into the first years of the 21st Century. Some people think that every national population policy will contain many themes, but in our country today, the size of the population is the most pressing problem. Because we don't have the capabilities to solve all the problems, the population policy should be used within a narrower scope and deal mainly with the birth, death, and migration processes. Later on, when conditions permit, we can implement a broader population policy that deals with social mobility, that ensures the formation of the most rational social structure by encouraging the movement of this social group to another social group, and that includes changes concerning the economic, cultural, social, and occupational elements of the population in accord with development.

Other people think that if the national population policy is thought of as a population strategy similar to the

socioeconomic strategy, when this policy is first formulated, there should be close coordination between the "narrow" and the "broad" and between the "immediate" and the "long-term." In the development strategy, there must be good coordination between the population policy and the economic, cultural, educational, and other social policies. It will be difficult to put forth a correct population policy that is narrow in scope without the guidelines of a broad population policy. And it will be difficult for the broad population policy to achieve good results unless we take steps now and in next few years to deal with the size of the population and reduce the birth rate to a rational level. Vietnam must have a national population policy that encompasses "scale," "structure," and "distribution." This must be viewed as an important element in the economic and social development strategy and as a factor that will directly promote the process of economic growth and social progress. But from now until the year 2000, the problem of "size" will continue to be the most pressing problem and the "break-through" element whose results will determine the success or failure of the entire population strategy in our country.

Vietnam is facing very great pressure with respect to population growth. According to statistics of the National Population and Family Planning Committee, in 1992 the country's population was 70 million people. In terms of population, Vietnam ranks 12th out of a total of 226 countries in the world. But this figure alone does not show the full dimensions of this problem. If we compare the size of the population with the country's existing resources and materials, everyone who is sensitive about economic and social problems will be startled. Our country's population density is now about 208 people per square km. But according to calculations of scientists, in order to ensure normal life in today's economic and technical conditions, the population density of each country should be only 35-40 people per square km. Thus, today—and not in the distant future—our population density is five times higher than the "standard density." [Footnote 1] ["General Geographical Laws of the Earth," Science and Technology Publishing House, Hanoi, 1978, p 310] Vietnam is an agricultural country, but our farming area is only 0.11 hectare per person as compared with 2.17 hectares per person with Western Europe, a highly industrialized area. (On average, each country there has approximately 20 times the per capita farming area that we have, and for some countries the figure is more than 100 times). As for gross national product, Vietnam's per capita GNP is about \$200 as compared with an average of about \$15,000 in the developed industrialized countries (which is more than 75 times higher than ours). And in some countries, the average is \$25,000, which is more than 100 times greater than ours. [Footnote 2] [According to "The State of the World Population 1991," in 1988 the average per-capita national income in Japan was \$21,020, in Hong Kong it was \$9,220, in Singapore it was \$9,070, in South Korea it was \$3,600, in China it was \$330, and in Thailand it was \$1,000.] Clearly, as

compared with the developed countries, our country is in a state of "absolute poverty" with respect not only to arable land but also to income level, and as compared with the developing countries, we are in a state of "relative poverty."

And yet our population continues to increase rapidly, far exceeding our economic growth rate. Looking at the 70 years from 1921 to 1990, during the first 35 years, that is from 1921 to 1955, the country's population increased by only 9.6 million people. But in the final 35 years (1955-1990), the population increased by 41.6 million people. During each decade of the first period, the population increased only 2-3 million people, but in the second stage, even though there was a "family planning" movement, the population increased more than 10 million people each decade. [Footnote 3] [This is based on data disclosed by Professor Luong Xuan Quy, the vice president of the National Economics College, at the population policy seminar held by the National Population and Family Planning Committee on 28 July 1992 in Hanoi.] The National Population and Family Planning Committee has revealed that population surveys conducted from 1989 to the present have shown that in just three years, our country's population has grown by another 4.5 million people, which is equal to the combined population of Tien Giang, Quang Nam-Danang, and Thai Binh Provinces. If the population continues to grow at the present rate of 2 percent a year (on average, each family has four children), in 30-35 years, Vietnam's population will reach 149 million. In a country with a small area and undeveloped industrial economy, if the population doubles in a short period of time, that will cause unemployment and lead to countless other social evils. Also, as the population increases, the average farming area will decline, the forests will be destroyed, the sources of water and food will become more scarce, and illiteracy and the lack of public health care will become more widespread. Thus, how will we be able to develop the intellectual and physical capabilities of our race? It can be seen that there are few capabilities for hitting the socioeconomic targets from now until the year 2000. Why? Because by the end of the 1990s, Vietnam's per-capita GNP will increase approximately 2.5 times. But with today's population growth rate, the average per capita income will be only \$400. That means that by the end of this decade, our country will still be very poor. Today, real incomes in the developed countries are 75 times higher than in Vietnam. If the population continues to grow at the present rate, by the year 2000, even if our GNP increases at a rate equal to that in the developed countries, the gap in real income between Vietnam and those countries will grow even wider. Instead of 75 times, it will be 100 times! To put it another way, a rapid growth in population is like a heavy burden that is holding back our country's economy and preventing the GNP from increasing. If we fail to increase our per capita GNP and remain a poor and undeveloped country, what awaits us as we step into the 21st Century? Every cadre, party member, and citizen can imagine that.

Since the 1960s, the party and state have been aware of the danger posed by a rapid increase in the population. Population and family planning work has been expanded based on the spirit of the directives and resolutions of the party and state, and the public health sector, the Women's Union, and the Confederation of Trade Unions have responded in a positive manner. This has also attracted the material help and experience of international organizations. The planned birth movement, which has been carried on for 30 years in the north and 17 years in the south, has achieved certain results: The average number of children per family has been reduced from six in 1961-1962 to four today, and a new psychology concerning bearing and raising children has been created among the targets in the cities and in a small number of people in the rural areas.

However, the target of reducing the birth rate to 1.7 percent, which was put forth after the country was unified and which was reiterated at the fifth, sixth, and seventh national party congresses, has still not been hit. One of the reasons for this is that the target is too high as compared with our actual capabilities. But the main reasons are that viewpoints on population and family planning work are too simple, with the result that we have lacked uniform solutions, investment sources are small and dispersed, the organizations involved in population work are not strong enough, the leadership of the party committee echelons and authorities is not equal to the requirements of the tasks, many places have given the public health sector a "blank check" with respect to this work, and so on.

In order to have a rational birth rate, create a favorable environment for economic and social development, and improve the people's standard of living and quality of life, our national population policy must mobilize the efforts of everyone in order to reduce the birth rate to a natural replacement level, that is, to an average of one-two children per family within the next 15-20 years. The over-all target of this policy is to "have small, healthy, civilized, and prosperous families that can contribute to the prosperity of the country." Today, families in our country are still too big, averaging 3.8 children. The population is still increasing at a rate of more than 2.2 percent a year. With this size and rate, by the year 2015, our country's population will have increased to about 120 million. Conversely, if we can reduce the rate to 1.7-1.8 percent and ensure that the average number of children per family is only two, by the year 2015 our country's population will be about 100 million (about 20 million fewer people). In the coming years, if each married couple has an average of only three children, by the year 2000 our country's population will be approximately 81 million, which is in accord with our economic and social development strategy.

As an important element of the economic and social development strategy, the population and family planning policy is closely related to and directly affects the economic, cultural, and social policies and directly benefits each person and family that implements this policy.

The population and family planning policy has a direct effect on complex social psychology. The aim is to change people's concepts about family size and disseminate modern family planning methods on a broad scale. Because of this, this requires very high vigilance on the part of each person and family, and there must be a high degree of socialization in the implementation process.

The population and family planning policy system within the narrow scope proposed in this article includes stipulations aimed at encouraging and discouraging births. The Population and Family Planning Committee is studying and preparing a number of concrete policies. For example, households that have registered to implement the population program will be provided with family planning means and services free of charge. The public health installations and technical cadres will monitor their health and provide treatment whenever abnormalities related to the use of birth control means arise, and they will be given training when abortion procedures are performed. In the rural areas, households that have registered to implement the "one-two children family" program will be given special treatment: Their agricultural taxes will be reduced during the period that they are raising young children, and they will be given farm and residential land just like families with many children. Cadres, workers, and civil servants who have registered to implement the above stipulations will be given priority when housing is distributed, they will be allowed to take trips and vacations, their skills will be improved, they will not have to pay school tuition for their children attending general schools, they will not have to pay for the medical examinations or medical treatment given to children below the age of 15, and so on.

The population and family planning policy also includes giving material rewards to people who mobilize others to carry out the family planning measures and to people who actively perform these services. The policy also protects and encourages the export of high-quality family planning goods produced domestically, waives import duties, and prohibits the re-export of family planning goods.

As for the ethnic minorities, the population and family planning policy is not aimed at reducing but at encouraging an increase in the birth rate in accord with the conditions for each region and ethnic minority group.

Because the population and family planning policy is closely related to the economic, cultural, and social policies, when formulating this policy, we must start from the basic viewpoints in the economic and social development strategy. At the same time, the economic, cultural, and social policies must be in accord with this policy. The ministries, sectors, and social organizations must reexamine and get rid of the old stipulations (such as stipulations on the distribution of housing, subsidies, and so on) that directly or indirectly encourage higher birth rates. The state should revise and soon promulgate a number of policies to support the population and

family planning program (such as creating jobs, distributing the population in the various areas in a rational manner, eliminating illiteracy and developing the rural areas, improving the position of women, and providing health insurance and insurance for the elderly) in order to put the minds of the people at ease when implementing the program of having small families with just one or two children.

In summary, formulating a good national population policy as part of the economic and social development strategy and implementing the population and family planning activities well is of great importance today. The Seventh Party Congress affirmed that "reducing the population growth rate is a national policy that must become a broad and powerful movement among all the people." [Footnote 4] [Proceedings of the Seventh National Congress of Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi, 1991, page 76] Through the seminars on the national population policy, most people agree that the overall and immediate population targets to the year 2000 are rational. In my view, the decisive points are:

1. The party committee echelons and authorities from the central echelon to the bases must lead, monitor, and control the implementation of the population and family planning policy, transform the thinking and behavior of the sectors, echelons, and social organizations, and stop giving blank checks in this work to a number of functional sectors.
2. Information and education must be strengthened and expanded to all areas, regions, and targets, particularly the main targets in the rural areas, in order to transform the concepts and attitudes of the people with respect to the population and family planning problems. This must have a strong impact on the targets of child-bearing age. At the same time, this problem must be included in the school curriculum so that members of the younger generation know how to handle things when establishing their own families. The cultural and arts organizations must develop creative programs and high-quality performances to support the nation's population and family planning policy and foster the creation of a new psychology and new values among the masses with respect to implementing the "small family, few children" program. Poor-quality works that trivialize the importance of the problem and that make it difficult for listeners and viewers to accept should not be broadcast on television and radio or performed on the stage. Pornographic and sexually stimulating works that increase the number of pregnancies outside the plans and that increase the abortion rate should not be popularized.
3. The system of organizations engaged in population and family planning work should be solidified and strengthened, and service activities should be renovated so that they are in accord with the new mechanism. A network must be built from the central echelon to the villages. This must have the strength to serve as the staff and to effectively manage and implement the population and family planning program throughout the country

and in each locality. At the central, provincial, and district levels, the population and family planning committees must be strengthened. These committees must be chaired by an administrative leader at the corresponding level. They must have a vice chairman who has the ability to work full time, and representatives from the planning, financial, statistical, public health, culture and information, and labor sectors and mass organizations must serve as members and coordinate things. The regular organizations of the various-echelon committees must be small in size, but they must have enough full time cadres to manage the program. At the village and subward echelon, depending on the size of the population and the geographical conditions, one or two full-time people can be assigned to serve as the staff for the party committee echelon, authorities, and mass organizations in carrying on the activities based on the guidance of higher-echelon population and family planning committees in order to disseminate information and promptly provide family planning services to the people.

4. Investment sources must be strengthened. To hit the general target of building small, healthy, and civilized families and the immediate target of lowering the birth rate to 1.7-1.8 percent so that the population is approximately 81 million by the year 2000, in addition to the above measures concerning leading, managing, and organizing forces, the financial and other investment sources must be strengthened for specific programs, such as the cadre training program, the education and tradition program, the program to build a system of policies and plans, the program to periodically conduct a census, conduct surveys, select models annually, and analyze population dynamics, and so on. According to 1980 data of other countries in this region (such as Indonesia, Thailand, and South Korea), annual per capita expenditures on population and family planning activities were \$0.59-1.18. As compared with the other countries in this region, Vietnam's expenditures for this operations sphere have been very low in past years. For the most part, we have relied on direct aid from international organizations. Now, we must continue to mobilize the maximum amount of aid possible from these sources. But to enable the national population policy to be implemented effectively on a nationwide scale, the state must set aside additional budget funds for the population and family planning program.

On the Issue of Transferring Land and Forests to Households

0000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
No 11, Nov 92 pp 16-18; 15

[Article by Phan Thanh Xuan; not translated]

Research-Exchange of Opinions

Trends and Prospects of Socialism

933E0007D Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in
Vietnamese No 11, Nov 92 pp 19-22

[Article by Associate Professor Hoang Chi Bao, M.A. in philosophy, director of the Institute of Scientific

Socialism, Institute for the Study of Marxism-Leninism and Ho Chi Minh Thought]

[Text] Since the 1870s, when reviewing the lessons and experiences of the Paris Commune, Marx observed that the revolution may suffer failures but it will never be eliminated.

Actually, the Paris Commune survived for 72 days. It was defeated by the counteroffensive launched by the bourgeois forces. But the ideals of the commune's warriors did not fade in the liberation struggle waged by the working class and laboring people for progress, democracy, and freedom. Proof of this is that 46 years after the Paris Commune, in 1917 the Russian October Revolution took place and won a glorious victory, which started the process of giving birth to and developing real socialism in the world.

The recent collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union has once again shaken the faith of Marxists in the face of the new challenges. The challenge this time is very serious, because never before has socialism suffered such a major defeat. The collapse of socialism, particularly in the Soviet Union, which has been a socialist country the longest and which was the strongest socialist country, has turned the thinking and feelings of many people upside down. A number of people are vacillating and confused, and they want to move in a new direction and choose a new path. Some people have frankly stated that we should abandon scientific socialism and implement a democratic socialist model in accord with the social-democratic trend in Western Europe. And some people even want to "go against the current" and follow the capitalist path. These are very serious and pressing problems that must be studied and discussed scientifically. In this article, I want to present a number of initial thoughts of mine.

First of all is the question of whether we should use the model of democratic socialism in accord with the present social-democratic trend in Western Europe.

I would like to respond by saying that abandoning scientific socialism and using the West European model of democratic socialism is a choice that is without hope. This is not the way to escape the crisis in order to hit the social development targets and liberate the people.

I don't deny that the social-democratic trends that have been developing since the 1950s, particularly during the 1970s, have made positive discoveries. The solutions proposed and applied by the social democrats aimed at developing democracy in the political mechanisms and bringing fairness and humanity to the social policies regarding people and protecting the environment have rational and progressive aspects. They have the power to attract the will power of many social movements and many organizations. They have also gained the support of many voters in society, which has led to the victory of social democrats in elections to power organizations in a number of West European countries. While in power, a number of social-democratic parties have implemented

many policies and measures that have improved working conditions and the people's standard of living and that have, to a certain degree, provided laborers with rights pertaining to the welfare of the people, democracy, welfare, and social fairness. But the social-democratic movements have an innate limitation that has to do with the nature of the movements. That is, the reforms brought about by these social-democratic movements have not led to a revolution rejecting capitalism. In reality, they have served to preserve capitalism, including the system of ownership in the economy and the powers and laws of the state in politics. The social-democratic reforms that have been theorized in a social-democratic model and implemented in life have brought about simultaneous and objective changes of two types:

The positive aspect: These have tended to improve social life and satisfy the hopes and serve the direct and daily interests of the people in the existing order of capitalist society.

The negative aspect: Democratic socialism can only ease the conflicts inherent in the nature of the capitalist economic and political system. It cannot eliminate or resolve the conflicts. "The third, non-communist path" leading to a "just, free, democratic, and humanitarian" society that will "go beyond both capitalism and socialism" as described by the leaders of the social-democratic movement is, in reality, a path that will lead to maintaining capitalism. It will not give rise to socialism.

The two aspects of simultaneous and objective change mentioned above seriously limit each other and satisfy the needs of modern capitalism to reorganize itself and find new and suitable forms to develop.

The rapid and powerful development of science and technology and of the production forces worldwide has generated countless changes in social life, in organizational and managerial models, in political mechanisms, and in the formulas for implementing the rights of the bourgeoisie under capitalism. Modern capitalism clearly understands these factors of change. It is sensitive to these things and has been quick to develop appropriate means to expand. In the theory of democratic socialism, it has found a theory that is in harmony with capitalism. And in reality, today's social-democratic trend is moving in a direction favorable to capitalism.

This explains why "democratic socialism" has managed to survive and develop within capitalism and why the capitalist powerholders must move toward democratic socialism. Capitalism has not blocked the reform programs of the social democrats and has even participated in pointing out the steps that those reforms should take so that they will not go beyond the limits acceptable to capitalism. This is an unavoidable truth that we must be clear about in the face of the tendency to idealize this reform movement and the desire to affirm this as a solution concerning the path of development. The recent signs of serious crisis and loss of energy within democratic socialism (with the failures of a number of social

democratic parties in Western Europe being proof of this) show the limitations and lack of prospects of reforms based on the theory of democratic socialism. In "Self Criticism," which was published in Paris in 1985, Jacques "Duy-can" said that the social democratic tendency is in reality just an "admission" that capitalism has won. This is still true today.

Even though we have not chosen a path of development based on democratic socialism, that does not prevent us from forging solidarity and cooperating with social democrats or the social-democratic parties. We should not turn our ideological and political differences into major stumbling blocks that could lead to conflicts. Instead, we must study the experiences and exploit the rational and positive factors of the social democrats in their economic and social reform programs. That will benefit us in renovating and building socialism. This will enrich our understanding concerning reform and development, evolution and revolution, and renovation and socialism in the new conditions and circumstances. This will unite communists and social democrats in a common front and help them to see the common denominators that can serve as a basis for coordinating efforts and manifesting their common strengths in the struggle for the peace and security of all nationalities, for the development of all nations, and for the rights and happiness of people.

Thus, should we "go against the current" and follow the capitalist path? In my view, "going against the current" and following the capitalist path is not a rational choice.

Many people have analyzed this issue in many articles and pointed out the good and bad points of capitalism. They have affirmed that returning to capitalism means failing to adhere to the laws of development of society and moving backward in history. What has happened in the (former) Soviet Union and a number of East European countries since the old model of socialist construction was smashed, where there has been a tendency to choose a "reverse" model to move away from real socialism and restore capitalism, is proof of this. The sovereign nations that were formed from the various republics after the collapse of the Soviet Union must now deal with the conflicts and paradoxes.

I would like to make several observations concerning this tendency to "go against the current":

First, since the collapse of the union, the economic recession and the ethnic and racial conflicts have become even more violent and caused great material and spiritual damage. Applying a policy of floating prices, privatization, and free markets in conditions in which there is great disorder in society has created great disturbances and pushed a large number of people into a state of poverty along with the tens of millions of other people who are living in poverty. The once-strong material and technical base of the national defense economy has been cut up and dispersed along with the unavoidable decline in the morale, concepts, and will power of the armed forces. This has directly destroyed the basis for

defending national security and maintaining its role in the international arena. This situation poses the danger of a protracted and widespread civil war under the pressure of extremist and narrow-minded nationalism, which is growing stronger and stronger. Resolving the crisis is becoming more and more difficult. It may not be possible to resolve the crisis, and new crises, particularly political crises, may arise. This could destroy the sovereign republics, which are already very fragile. Because of this, it will not be easy to implement the reform programs based on Western models with free markets, privatization, parliamentary democracy, political pluralism, and multiple parties in the hope of eliminating the previously-established basis of socialism and eradicating the influences of Marxism-Leninism and the communist party from society. This will come up against the social reactions of various strata of people, particularly after they learn the lessons from the violent realities of the collapse of the union and from the loss of the fruits of the revolution and the idealistic values of socialism that had been built over the course of many decades. On the other hand, even though the Western capitalist forces are happy about the collapse of socialism in the Soviet Union, which they consider to be a "victory by the free forces," and even though the United States thinks that it must "seize the opportunity" and "play its leading role in the world" [Footnote 1 [Richard Nixon, "Seize the Opportunity," Simon and Schuster, December 1991], they won't rush to pour money and materials into Russia and the sovereign republics, which are very unstable. The West is far ahead of the republics there, including Russia, in terms of level of development and rate of growth. In the face of those difficulties, even though they have abandoned socialism, it will not be easy for the leaders of Russia and the sovereign republics to return to capitalism.

Second, it should not be forgotten that capitalism is now at the level of modern capitalism. It is very different from classical capitalism, not only in the spheres of production, scientific and technical development, the discovery and use of new technology, and so on but also with respect to the level of social management and organization and the effect on international relationships. Developing intensively and using the advantages of modern technological advances and the advantages concerning banking, finances, and markets, modern capitalism is exerting a presence in international life like a challenge for the developing countries and the poor, backward, and undeveloped countries. Going against the current and returning to capitalism, the sovereign republics clearly lack many conditions. Even if they manage to do an excellent job in returning to capitalism, the sovereign republics will still reach only a level "similar" to that of capitalism in its classical form in the previous century. But capitalism has clearly gone beyond that form. That is the unavoidable dead-end of this tendency.

As Professor "Xin-viu Bru-can," a Rumanian, has observed, everything that is happening here (the sovereign republics) represents a movement backward, a

retreat of 70 years. According to him, the significance of all these changes is that this is a transition from poorly-developed socialism to poorly-developed capitalism. The common factor here is "poorly-developed." [Footnote 2] [TIN THAM KHAO CHU NHAT, 7 June 1992, page 7]

Because of the limitations and defects of the old model, socialism has been slow to develop and remained undeveloped. Thus, it is essential to carry on reform and renovation in order to eliminate the restrictive mechanisms and reach a higher level of development. If the solutions chosen are to be in accord with historical progress and have a revolutionary nature, they must move toward development targets that are higher than their existing situation or overcome the bounds rejected by history. In the face of a retarded and poorly-developed socialism that is in crisis, socialism must be transformed and enabled to develop. It must not stand still or retreat to capitalism.

Failing to overcome those limits, failing to develop socialism in a wholesome way, planning ways to drag it backwards, and seeking values that have been overtaken by history (classical capitalism in the past) is not a correct and rational solution with prospects.

Thus, the conclusion reached here is that following the socialist path is an objective necessity that is in accord with the laws of development of history. Naturally, we must understand socialism correctly and have correct solutions and steps in order to build socialism effectively.

By nature, socialism is scientific and revolutionary. It is creative and is constantly developing. Development always entails complexity. The simple and rudimentary just lead to monotony and poverty. In development, the new problems that are constantly arising will always be more complex than the problems already solved. In the present period of renovation, socialism is moving in accord with those special characteristics and tendencies.

The renovation and socialist construction movements in our country are posing many economic, political, and social problems that are directly related to the development of Vietnamese society and to the victory of socialism and that are gradually turning the lofty humanitarian ideals of socialism into reality in this country.

On the present path of development, world socialism, too, must solve many difficult problems, including some that are very difficult and complex. Development is never a straight path without conflicts and conditions. Development is raised by victories. As Lenin said, it must bravely pass through mistakes and defeats, make zig zags, make temporary retreats, and suffer constant interruptions.

However, as an ideal for liberating man and as a necessary tendency of development that is very close to the people and that has been created by the people, socialism cannot be eliminated. It is and always will stimulate

people to act. And the most creative and wonderful action of people is action aimed at liberating and developing themselves. As the entire history of the development of man has proven, to do this the only way to is pass through scientific socialism, build a socialist society, and transform socialism from an ideal into reality.

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[Article by Duc Vuong; not translated]

State Ownership in a Market Economy

*00000000 Hanoi TAP CHI CONG SAN in Vietnamese
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[Article by Nguyen Ngoc Tuan; not translated]

Democracy in the Economy

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[Article by Ha Xuan Truong; not translated]

A Strong Economic Theory Base Must Be Built and Developed

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[Article by Vu Ngoc Nhung; not translated]

Economic Unity Among the Economic Elements in Our Country Today

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[Article by Nguyen Dinh Phan; not translated]

The Correct Path for the Ho Chi Minh City Engineering and Electrical Machinery Corporation Party Organization

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[Article by Olev Posilinsev; not translated]

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[Article not translated]

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